ls Hanke--12 O-S (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

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353 778 [192] 778 789 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

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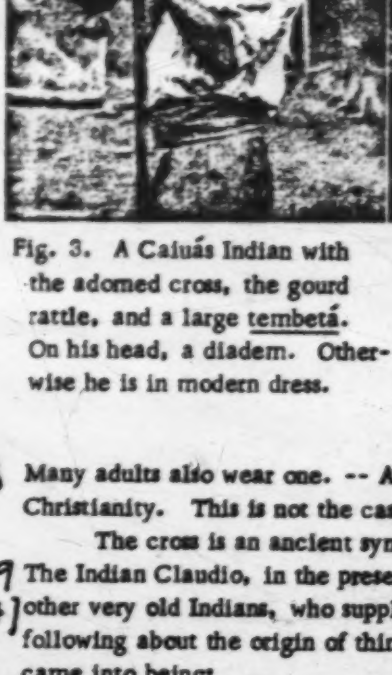

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

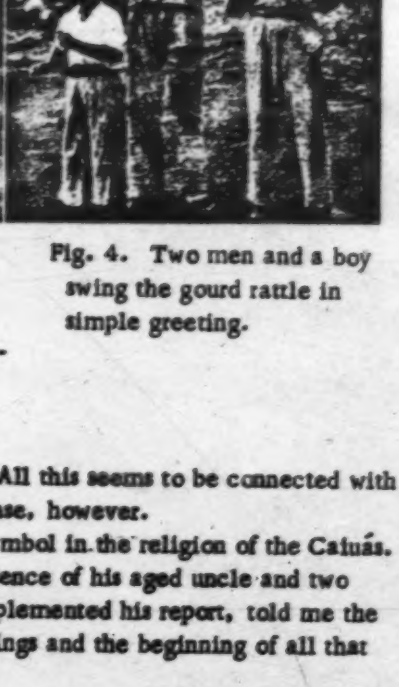

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 [124] The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

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Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

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Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

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Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

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Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

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/230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá: Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

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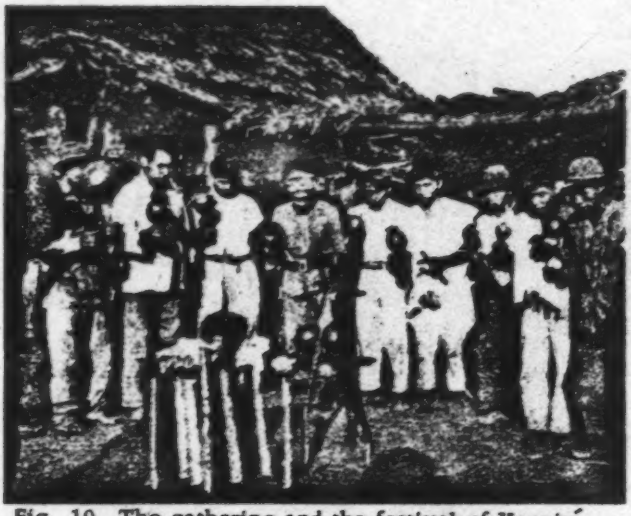

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe reté moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe yeguaka moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, se curussú kuĕkuãá moãtyro, ĕe rykeý."

/233 cont./

796 [237] [533] disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

[342] [291] [535] [574] [576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] [784] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

2: Schaden--40 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type 291 177 609 156 have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 156 182 186 197 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

291 177 132 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 [283] [462] [286] [386] The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito. All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), produced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The present generation still remembers the time when many wore these garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano [796] [881] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambaí I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 [192] The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impression of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] [386] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá: that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

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291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the penchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the penchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katiguá 324 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva): the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 293 [531] Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the Mãkushá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

• 291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters. [286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, [283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece 291 53 237 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel- [192] low and orange toucan (tũkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called 291 Remombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita- [114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, 292 called iporavõhagué. The care with which the ponchito is adorned 178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism 178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

2: Schaden--44 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/41 cont./

292 778 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explanation. [177] Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

• 291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytã or putã of the rural [192] [435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of [192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovetã ragué), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinctive touch. [428] The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the [171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much [192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a [177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the apárato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It [482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders [147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

2: Schaden--45 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[182]
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1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but
[286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse
[192] cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbyá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./

29 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

29 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (mo'ñaí) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿaí. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 38 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, [177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

Tr Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1988 Sht4 Guarani Sht4
Nandéva
Kayová

I. Marçal de Souza, Nandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambaí, southern Mato Grosso.

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbïá. 2. Ñandéva.

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V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guaraní family from Dourados.

VI. Kayoué-Oiampí woman from Amapá, spinning carapaté fibre.

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayoué-Oiampí of Dourados.

R. Schaden--187 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

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X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

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XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mboá'i* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[*]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[*] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapái*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85).

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases.

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brasilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarakâ*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance.

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokôi* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men.

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[124] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most frequently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initiation of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South

[124] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokué* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground.

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokué*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear.

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown.

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cauí*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic.

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBati iupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[28] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages

[28] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably 439 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as bandanas. 648 Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but occasionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are [262] principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other- • [291] wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter 648 small amounts of their *kokué* production every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own *roças*. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons [243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant. *[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into 439 Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham- mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers, 352 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered 415 by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade 262 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[180] Hammocks are

[180] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.146]

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FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sarakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

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FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

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3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cāuī'*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cāuī'*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

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FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbaʃirão*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbaʃirão* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cāuī'* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cāuī'* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 148]

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FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

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FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

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FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeiá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Tacuapirí in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

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E /314 cont./
E 175 167 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

E 175 167 721 726 I 726 Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

E [729] I [712] Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

E 175 721 726 I 726 701 E [291] [266] The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

Caingué do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SQ9
Guarani SM4
Chané SF8

/436 cont./

000 C 286 53 171 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is C 286 174 857 enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were EG 286 174 acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence T 286 174 of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use G 286 [175] [291] of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá /Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness G [291] of the several fabrics which have been collected among them. These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled. The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C C 286 177 No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave, and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/ very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingud* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingud* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingud* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingud*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingud* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.